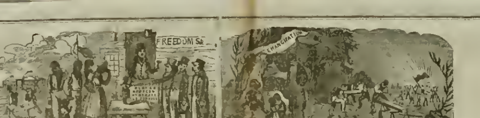
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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



THE LIBERATOR

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

AGENTS.
Maine.—A. Soule, Bath; W. A. Dunn, Hallowell.
New Hampshire.—N. P. Rogers, Concord;—William Wilbur, Dover;—Leonard Chase, Milford.
Vermont.—John Bement, Woodstock;—Rowland T. Robinson, North Ferrisburg.
Massachusetts.—Moses Emery, West Newbury; Jos. L. Lord, Newburyport;—Luther Boutell, Groton; W. S. Wilder, Fitchburg;—J. T. Everett, Princeton; J. Church, Springfield;—John Levy, Lowell;—Josiah V. Marshall, Dorchester and vicinity;—Richard C. French, Fall River; Isaac Austin, Nantucket;—[illegible];—Israel Perkins, Lynn;—[illegible] Joseph Brown, [illegible];—John Clement, [illegible] Northampton; Alvan Ward, [illegible].
Rhode Island.—Amarancy Paine, Providence;—Wm. Adams, Pawtucket;—Geo. S. Gould, Warwick.
☞ For a continuation of this list, see the last page, last column.

JAS. BROWN YERRINTON, Printer.

VOL. XIV.—NO. 2.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 12, 1844.

WHOLE NO. 697.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Philadelphia [Universalist] Messenger.

The Abolition Convention.

Last week, the American Anti-Slavery Society held an anniversary meeting in this city. As to what great harm the Society did, I neither know, nor do I care to know. With the abolition movements of the day, I have no concern. I am well convinced that they tend to no good, and a regard for the interests of slaves prompts me to wish that the abolitionists would have tender mercy enough to let them alone.

This article, however, is not intended to discuss the subject of 'abolitionism,' but merely to express a few thoughts suggested by the place in which the recent Convention was held. The abolitionists [illegible] Quakers and negroes. There are in Philadelphia many large Quaker meeting-houses, and several good sized African churches. And yet, owing to some cause, which ought to be explained, the Convention in question was held in the Universalist church. [illegible] Quaker meeting-house [illegible] an African church be obtained? Why was it necessary to make application for the [illegible] Universalist church? And why did our brethren of that church grant the use of their house to a promiscuous, party-colored political party? I wish not to dictate to those brethren the course that they shall pursue with their house, and I should be extremely [illegible] to say one word that could give them just cause of offence. But it seems to me but little better than solemn mockery to erect a house, and dedicate it by appropriate religious services to the worship of Almighty God, and then to convert into a public hall, to be used for any and every purpose. Whether right or wrong, I must be [illegible] protest against such desecrations of our places of public worship. If a house, consecrated to God and his service cannot be sustained without the aid of comic singers and abolition Conventions, we have indeed fallen upon evil times.

For one, I speak only for myself and without any authority, I am decidedly opposed to using our churches for any other than strictly religious purposes. I would have them closed against all public lectures on science, history, &c. Such lectures properly belong to public halls, which have been [illegible] for such uses, and not to the sanctuary of the Lord. If any place on earth should be held sacred, it is the place where multitudes meet to worship the God of their fathers. The Episcopalians, in the use of their churches, exhibit an example that we ought gladly to imitate. Their houses of worship are not public halls, but places of public devotion. God grant that the time may soon come when [illegible]

[illegible]

COMMUNICATIONS.

New Bedford, 12th mo 24th, 1843.

C. C. Burleigh's Lectures.

Dear Friend Garrison:

Our friend C. C. Burleigh has just concluded a course of lectures in this place, to (I believe) [illegible]

[illegible]

J. BAILEY.

[illegible]

JONATHAN B. WARD,
ALANSON GAMMON,
AMBROSE VINCENT,
SAMUEL GAMMON,
Committee of [illegible]

New-Bedford, Dec. 8, 1843.

[illegible]

were doing God service, to excite a mob to take his life, 'without the benefit of clergy'? And how much better, think you, would the ministers of New-England be, who receive such men into their pulpits, and bid them God speed, or those churches who suffer them to commune with them, or with their unholy hands break bread to them? I reverence the gospel minister as much as any man, but I do not recognize as gospel ministers those who shun [illegible]

[illegible]

Yours for the oppressed,
RICHARD C. FRENCH.

Taunton Ladies Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society.

[illegible]

CONGRESS.

Congressional Dignity.

[illegible]

Several Members.—That sword! (Peals of laughter.)

Holmes.—No, sir, I don't want to trouble the House to suspend any thing. I merely wish to say [illegible] that sword—(about on shout of laughter) [illegible]

[illegible]

PETITION FROM A PRISONER.

[illegible]

sample he thus set him, this man, if free, could be released immediately.

Mr Giddings said it made very little difference with him what committee it was referred to. In moving the reference to a Select Committee, he had merely followed a precedent which had been established in this House. In former years, when there was no excitement upon the subject of slavery in the House, or in this country, in cases like the present, [illegible]

[illegible]

be averse to legislation upon individual cases. He felt perfectly indifferent as to what committee the petition should be referred to, and he would add but one other remark. The gentleman had advised him to go and pay his money for the costs of the prosecution. He thanked him for the advice. If the gentleman had been generous enough to advance his money in the cause of humanity and of liberty, he [illegible]

[illegible]

the North was in concurrence with that he had been expressed. He did not intend, however, to trouble the North long at this time; all he wished to say was, let the gentlemen from the South divest themselves of the belief that the people of the North could be at [illegible], as the term was understood here. He [Mr. Davis] disclaimed such sentiments; he disclaimed them for himself, he disclaimed them for his constituents, he disclaimed them for his State; he disclaimed them for the entire people of this Union. The North did not wish to interfere with the question of slavery. They had no object to prompt them to any interference, they had no interest to induce them to do so, and they were not a people to be supposed to be indifferent or insensible to personal interest. Their interest, as well as their feelings, would lead them to utter abstinence from an interference with the slavery of the South. From the indifference observable between the two sections of the country, they saw enough to satisfy them that they had nothing to regret that slavery did not exist amongst them, and they had only to regret that it existed any where. He repeated, that he had no wish to interfere with the institutions of the South, and they should be the last to do any thing that would militate against them; but while doing this, and feeling thus, and standing up for the Constitution of the country, the people of the North claimed an exemption, not only from all interference, but from all obligation to interfere with slavery. The North was desirous that the South should manage their own business in their own way, and at their own time.

But, to return to the subject immediately before the House. He hoped that this matter would be referred, but he had no desire to be a member of the committee to which it should be referred. He hoped, too, that the committee to whom it shall be referred would report a bill to repeal the law under which the petitioner was imprisoned. The simple inquiry for such a committee would be, whether a man of color can be taken and sold on the presumption that he is a slave. He had nothing more to say than that the South must yield that to the North. [illegible] was common ground; and the Northern members could never stand before their constituents unless the South yielded that to the North. The North would not consent that, in this District, a man who had proved his freedom must pay the costs or be sold into slavery; and if such were the existing law, it must be repealed.

Mr. J. Campbell made some explanation, which was not distinctly heard.

Mr. Davis replied, that he was only supposing it to be the law, but if it were not, the committee would have nothing to do. But if there was a law by which, on the presumption of slavery, an individual could, on account of color, be committed and sold into slavery on a failure to pay the costs of his imprisonment, in the present state of public sentiment that law could not long be maintained; and whether it were now, or in the course of the next year, or within ten years, he would not undertake to say, but repealed it must be. There was a sentiment in the country that was against such a law, and its repeal must be conceded to that public sentiment by one section of the House to the other. Our institutions rest on the basis of mutual concession and compromise, and though he was not now intending to trouble the House at this time with many remarks, he would take occasion to say that he was as willing to make concessions to other portions of the Union as any gentleman on that floor, but he expected something in return for that which he gave. He came from a State which had given more to the Union than all the other States together; and he was willing to act in the same spirit of magnanimity which had marked the course of the State from which he came, from the earliest period of her history. He said then, in view of this whole matter, that the repeal of this law—it would become southern gentlemen to yield; and he should vote for the reference to a select committee. On the ground he had stated, he should vote for it, though his own individual opinion was that slavery could not exist in this District. This opinion was, (and he had given the subject some consideration,) that the moment this District became the property of the General Government, slavery was at an end. The practice of the country had been otherwise, showing that slavery had been deemed to be legally in existence here. Such, however, was not his opinion, for there were limitations to the power of this government; and he believed that, as it could not make a king, neither could it make a slave. Slavery, in a district under the immediate government of the United States, was inconsistent with the principles on which the government of the country was based, and he therefore held it as his opinion that slavery could not exist in any of the territories under this government; and that, no matter whence acquired, or how derived, the instant it became a territory of the United States, that instant slavery ceased.

From the Boston Morning Post.

Laws of South Carolina respecting Colored Seamen.

Our readers may remember that last year a commissioner was appointed by the Executive of this Commonwealth to attend to the interests of the State with regard to colored seamen in the port of Charleston, S. C. The same gentleman who was named for this duty has since been the chairman of a Committee of the South Carolina Legislature to investigate the existing laws on the subject, and to report on a bill which had been brought in to modify those laws. The report of this Committee is now before us and we proceed carefully to give its purport, for the information of our readers, interested on either side of the question.

The report acknowledges that 'the practical enforcement of the existing laws tends to abuses, which may compromit the State, both with the other States of the confederacy, and with foreign friendly powers,' and proceeds to recommend the passage of the proposed bill, as agreeable to the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and the inalienable rights of an independent sovereignty. This bill requires all colored seamen, while within the territorial limits of the State, to remain on board their vessels, or within such limits as the municipal authority of the port shall prescribe; and a violation of this law incurs a penalty or fine, with security that the offender shall be detained on board his vessel, and depart with it. No expense is incurred by those who do not violate the law. But, to secure its enforcement, the captain or agent of the vessel, within three days after his arrival, is required to deposit in the sheriff's office a list and description of all colored seamen brought in. The omission involves a penalty of fine for each day until the law is complied with. So that colored seamen are required to remain on board their vessels, and depart with them, under the penalty prescribed.'

We now proceed to the arguments in favor of the bill, as we find them in the report. It has been said that any law restraining the free ingress, stay, and departure, of the subjects of foreign States, or of those who are citizens of other States of the Union, is a violation of the courtesy due to friendly powers, to the treaty stipulations of the general government, and to the Constitution of the United States, which provides that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.' To prove the falsity of these positions, it is necessary to establish two positions. First, that a State, every way distinct and sovereign, may enact such laws without violating the law of nations; and secondly, that South Carolina has not given up such right by joining the confederacy of the United States. As to the first position, we think it cannot be doubted by any reasonable person that such a right exists, or, at any rate, is the common usage among civilized nations. The police and quarantine regulations of Europe, at the present time, are as annoying to strangers as they are (oftentimes) needless, but they are acquiesced in without demur. Vattel, in several places, is very explicit on the right of a sovereign power to admit what aliens he pleases within his dominion, and under what restrictions. We shall not, therefore, quote arguments on what seems to us to be indisputable. But, with regard to the present matter, the report adds—

'This liberty to adapt its laws to its own circumstances is indispensable to self preservation. Such regulations depend on this right, and it is quite immaterial whether the disease is a physical or moral one, whether destruction is threatened from pestilence, or domestic insubordination, the right is the same. If South Carolina apprehends the baleful effects which a free intercourse with foreign negroes will produce, she has, by the primary law of nature, a right within her own limits to interdict it. She is not bound to wait until her citizens are involved in the conflagrations and murders of a servile outbreak. Humanity, as well as a proper caution, warn us not to suffer our slaves to be drawn into schemes which must end in their own punishment or destruction; while those who have seduced them from their fidelity are safe beyond the dangers and inflictions which must ever attend such attempts.

As to whether or not South Carolina has yielded any of her natural rights in joining the confederacy, the report answers in the negative, by declaring, first, because the right of self-preservation is inalienable, and self-preservation signifies the maintenance of the body politic as it was at the formation of the Union. At that time the body politic of South Carolina consisted of 'white citizens'—the negroes constituted no part of it, but were held, by her fundamental laws, as 'absolute slaves,' personal property of their owners, and this relation cannot be changed without the destruction of the body politic, according to well established principles.

'The preservation of a nation consists in the duration of the political association of which it is formed. If a period is put to this association, the nation or State no longer exists, though the individuals who compose it still exist.' Any alteration in the relation of master and slave, and introduction of equal political power on the part of our colored population, would so entirely change the body politic as to render it a different State for all political purposes. Her very representation in Congress would be affected. Nay, the attempt to confer on negroes the right of citizenship is a clear violation of the principles of the federal Union. Negroes were no parties to the Constitution of the United States, and although the States may, in regard to their civil rights, introduce them into the class of white men—negroes are a race originally introduced by the English settlers as slaves, and although many of them have been released from servitude, they have not been, and public feeling and the natural antipathy to association has kept them, like the gipsies of England, a distinct population, protected it is true by the humanity of the laws, but separated in habits, associations, and duties. They constitute no part of the militia, who are composed only of 'free white men;' as servants and laborers they may be used, but the flag of the Union is under the protection of 'free white men.' Even fanaticism itself has not yet polluted the ranks of the militia or the jury box with the association of negroes.

But whatever folly and fatuity may bring about elsewhere, South Carolina entered the Union a slaveholding State, and as such she will continue unaffected by the terms of the Union. She declines to defend her position because she admits no authority to question it. She is as absolutely beyond inquiry as Russia in relation to her boors, or subjugated Poland, or England, in relation to her Irish population, her starving operatives, or her millions of enslaved and conquered natives of India, held in cruel bondage, not by the rod of a driver but the bayonets and cannon of her mercenaries. On these matters each State is responsible only to heaven, by the laws of nature and of nations.'

This ground is supported by strong quotations from Vattel.

The Committee again allude to the quarantine laws, but with regard to them as enacted by different States of the Union. The report continues—

'South Carolina never intended to yield her absolute right to secure the subordination of her slave population. It is a vital interest, as much so as that of New York to establish health laws to prevent the importation of disease, or that of Massachusetts to prevent the importation into her State, of the paupers and felons of Europe.'

Again it is said, that South Carolina has no right to pass laws respecting citizens of other States, because she has given up to Congress the power to 'regulate commerce.' The report remarks—

'If Congress alone can pass laws regulating those concerned in commerce, then the quarantine laws are unconstitutional. If not, then our laws also are no violation of that instrument. It is folly to quit the quarantine ground against the law, because the people of New-York believe that the presence of citizens of this State, leaving home in particular seasons, is dangerous to the bodily health of their fellow-citizens of that region, and the punishment is absolute slavery for a long term in their State's prison—where hard labor, coarse diet, and the most cruel and bloody bodily punishment are inflicted by keepers, who are the arbitrary judges and merciless executioners of their helpless victims. In South Carolina, we think the presence of a free negro, fresh from the lectures of an abolition society, much more infectious, and we confine him to the vessel, or prescribed limits. Each State acts for itself, upon a matter believed to be vitally important. It is proper to show that in this matter our State acts in good faith, and on sound principles. In the first place, it is a subject on which our people are peculiarly sensitive. It is connected with no immediate and pressing apprehensions, but interest and humanity unite in moving us to obviate the necessity for severity, which is alike painful to our feelings, and injurious to our interests.'

On another ground, also, the right of South Carolina to enact the laws under notice, is denied.

'The first article of the second section of the Constitution of the United States provides that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States,' and under this clause, it is supposed, that if a negro is a citizen of Maine, he may come to South Carolina and claim here the rights and immunities of a white man. White or black, if a citizen of Maine, we must treat him as a citizen. The folly of such a claim is only equalled by the recklessness with which the pretension is urged. If true, this State would rather yield her place in the Union than submit to it. But it has no foundation in the Constitution. All that instrument means is this. Citizens of each State shall be entitled to the same rights in the other States as if they had been born there. A white man born in Maine, and removing to South Carolina, is on an equal footing with a white citizen, and so, a negro, born in Maine, is no better than one born here, and if he comes here, he must abide by our negro laws. Were not this so, this State might be infested with runaway negroes who, having acquired the rights of citizens in Maine, would return to beard their masters and claim the protection of the federal Constitution. This may be illustrated by other cases. In some States, a service in the militia for a number of years, exempts from ordinary duty, but he cannot carry that privilege out of the State, and insist upon it elsewhere. He must abide the laws of the State where he is. So, if by the laws of Maine every citizen can vote for President, a citizen of Maine living in Virginia must abide her laws and unless he has a freehold he cannot vote, for her own or its citizens are subject to that law. All then that the Constitution means is, that, white or black, the inhabitants of any State will stand to every other as her own citizens, white or black; not that if Maine chooses to permit her negroes to vote or marry white persons they can do so in other States where the same thing is forbidden to her own citizens. Massachusetts for years prohibited the marriage of blacks with whites, establishing a precedent that a State may make color a distinction, as well as any other peculiarity. One State may prohibit the marriage of minors; if so all minors within her limits must obey the law. So all negroes within our limits must abide our laws as to that population.'

The remainder of the paper is devoted to a consideration of the extent of the treaty-making power of our general government, and in answering those who claim that the laws respecting negro seamen, &c., when affecting English subjects, are contrary to the Convention of 1818, with Great Britain. The ground taken on the latter topic is, that 'all treaties, and the Convention in particular, are subject to the internal laws of the respective countries.' This stipulation was absolutely made, and though, if the proviso were not literally written in the treaty, the construction would be the same, yet as it was made, the matter is settled beyond question.

'The laws of a nation are not to be repealed by the construction of treaties, the parties to which would, if they intended to do so, expressly stipulate upon the point. And it is equally true, that not only existing laws, but such internal laws as the necessities of each may require, may be enacted, provided they do not directly impair the obligations of the contract. It would be no violation of our Convention if Great Britain should make any regulations as to shipping generally, which affected the mode of carrying on the trade guarantied by the Convention; she might exclude our ships from specified ports of the river, or compel them to load their cargoes in specified docks. This would be but a mode of carrying on commerce, and if she may designate where our ships shall lie, why may we not prescribe limits to her black seamen? If the necessities of one of the contracting parties, existing at the time or supervening afterwards, require regulations to be adopted to preserve the health, the morals, or the political safety of such party, they are by the just application of what is termed the 'restrictive interpretation,' exceptions to the general terms of the contract.'

We conclude with the remarks of the treaty-making power of the central government—

'The Constitution vests in the President the 'power to make treaties,' by and with the advice of the Senate, &c. I hold that this power, however general in its terms, is limited by the other provisions of the Constitution. The treaty-making power cannot extend to impair those rights which the States have not delegated. It would otherwise be the most sweeping and dangerous power vested in the federal government, and being exercised in conjunction with the Senate only, where the smallest States are represented equally with the largest, might be exercised in a way to destroy the most cherished rights of the States. If the federal government could do by treaty what Congress could not by law, then have the large States yielded in a Convention of States what they have denied in a Congress, in which the preponderance of their population is justly felt. I then hold it as a fundamental maxim, in relation to the treaty-making power, that it is but a mode of exercising those powers which are expressly delegated by the States, or which are necessary to the perfect exercise of those powers; but does not authorize the President and Senate to invade those rights reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. That it is not an unlimited grant, but is restrained and modified by the nature of the federal compact, and the express powers therein delegated. Each State has an undoubted right to lay taxes upon all who reside within its limits, and the United States could not, by treaty, stipulate that the subjects of any foreign State should be exempt. If so, they might as well stipulate that they should be liable to trial only in the courts of the United States, and not subject to the criminal process of the States. It might be advantageous to surrender some frontier post to a foreign government, with the privilege of exercising martial law, yet no treaty could invade the domain of a State in these particulars. In short, the States retain their domestic legislatures and natural powers, and all the acts of the general government must leave the exercise of them, as far as necessary for their preservation and protection, unimpaired. It will never be admitted as a sound interpretation of the Constitution, that the President and Senate possess powers controlling the States, which were purposely withheld from Congress, but the extent of the authority of the treaty-making power must be limited to the delegation of powers by the States. Construction has already gone far to swallow up the state sovereignties, and it will be fearful if the treaty-making power is to be the bottomless gulph into which they are eventually to sink.

I thus have attempted to maintain that South Carolina, as a sovereign State, does possess the power to pass the law. That it is a power upon the exercise of which her dearest and most vital interests depend. That such a power is the rightful and inalienable attribute of a sovereign State—that its exercise must depend upon the views of policy, and upon the individual discretion of the State, which can alone safely decide in matters involving self-preservation—that it was not either expressly or by implication ever surrendered, and from its nature could not be—that the treaty-making power does not extend so far as to authorize stipulations destructive of this power—that it is but a police regulation, and not inconsistent with any commercial convention.

It was due to our sister States, and to those foreign powers with whom we trade, to thus demonstrate our respect to national law, and our regard to treaties entered into with friendly States. The objections against the act of 1835, we have endeavored to remove, as far as they were well-founded—and, at the same time, to preserve the just rights of the State to secure her domestic tranquillity.'

☞ The following comes to us in pamphlet form, without an imprint. It is evidently written by one who is conversant with the versatile interests of the non-slaveholding classes of that section of the country to which it refers, and exhibits their oppressions, as victims of slavery, in a strong light.

Address

To the Farmers, Laborers, and other industrious Citizens of South Carolina.

Fellow Citizens:

Are you freemen? Have you rights? and do you dare maintain them? If you feel so, what I am about to write will attract your attention, and excite you to action. You are accustomed to have much Fourth of July oratory, and to be frequently told you are the freest people under the canopy of heaven. Is it so? You will perhaps be startled at the announcement that there is not a more despotic government than that under which you live. As a Carolinian I am ashamed to say it, but it is truth. Call this State a republic, and ourselves republicans and democrats! Alas, we deceive ourselves, if we think we are any thing more than the veriest slaves of a lordly oligarchy. But let us not be longer deluded by mere names. You have long enough been crushed and oppressed, your natural rights trampled upon, and yourselves duped by the indolent race of aristocrats, that since the formation of our government have held the reins in their own hands. They have managed, by prating of liberty and the rights of man, to throw dust into your eyes, and keep you blind both to their arrogance and their cunning. Our beautiful State, upon which Nature originally lavished her treasures, has been impoverished, and many of her sons have had to seek their homes on some newer soil, because it was impossible for them here to live. Why is it? Purely because your State government has never supported your interests, or made any provision for the encouragement of industry and the success of honest labor, and you have had no part nor lot in the control of the State. This I am prepared to show.

The white population of South Carolina, according to the last census, amounts to 259,084—the greater part of whom occupy the higher or upper part of the State. The nine Districts—Charleston, Beaufort, Colleton, Sumpter, Edgefield, Georgetown, Abbeville, Fairfield, and Orangeburg, contain a white population of 85,960, and are represented in the Legislature by 58 Representatives and 26 Senators, while the other twenty Districts, with a white population of 173,094 have only 50 Representatives, and 19 Senators. Why this disparity? Because your Constitution has given to those who hold property in slaves, the advantage over those who support themselves by their own industry. Look at it again, fellow citizens. Nine Districts—with less than one-third of the free inhabitants of the State, have a majority of 7 in the Senate, and 8 in the Lower House. What can the other twenty Districts, with more than two-thirds of the white population, expect from a Legislature thus constituted, whenever it is to the interest of this majority to legislate for themselves? Will they not provide for the slave interest which they represent, and overlook the interests of free labor, which antagonizes with it? This they have done, this they are doing, this they will ever do, until they who have no slaves, and must live by their own industry, compel a change in the Constitution. But, to show you how completely you are under the yoke of this slaveholding power, I will present another view of the legislative representation. The fourteen Districts—having 242,831 slaves, and only 114,008 whites, are entitled to 77 Representatives and 31 Senators—while the fifteen Districts, having but 84,475 slaves, only 115,071 whites—have only 47 Representatives, and 14 Senators, giving to the slave Districts a majority of 30 in the Lower House, and of 17 in the Senate. Again, I ask, can it be expected that so large a majority in the slaveholding interest will legislate for the encouragement of the industrious white man? To legislate for you, will be to legislate against themselves. They grow cotton and rice, you grow grain and stock. They must have grain and stock as cheap as they can, and get as much as they can for their cotton and rice. They export their cotton and rice, and they import their grain. The exportation of cotton and rice increases the price of those commodities to you, the importation of grain and stock diminishes the price of your grain and stock. All their legislation, therefore, is to promote the interests of the planter at the expense of the farmer. But the power of the slave interest is yet stronger than appears above. If you consult the Constitution, and see what are the qualifications of your legislators, you will find that you have no representation at all, except it be by a mere accident. What are the qualifications of a Representative? He must 'be legally seized and possessed in his own right of a settled freehold estate of the value of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, clear of debt. If a non-resident [in the election District he shall] be legally seized and possessed of a settled freehold estate therein, of the value of five hundred pounds sterling, clear of debt.' Here you see is a property qualification, and however worthy a small farmer, or laborer, or mechanic, or doctor, or lawyer may be, or however intelligent, he cannot possibly have a seat, and, consequently, has no representation in the Legislature. If the whole State were divided into tracts, so that each white inhabitant could have a farm, there would be but sixty acres for each, so that averaging five members to each family, every head of a family might be possessed of 300 acres of land—a property that falls 200 acres short of what would qualify him for a seat in the House, to say nothing of the ten negroes, or the equivalent required by the Constitution. But if he have not the negroes, he must own real estate to the value of about $700, to be estimated, of course, according to the rate of assessment or taxation. One may own in many parts of the State, thousands of acres of land and yet not be entitled to a seat in the House, because his land is not estimated at $700, nor is he possessed of ten negroes. And why is land estimated so low? Why is even productive land estimated at an average far below the lands in the northern and north-western States? so that a man, with a hundred acres of land of excellent soil, must get seven hundred dollars for it, while a northern man would get for the same quality and quantity of the land from 2000 to $20,000? The answer is plain. The valuable property in the State is not land, but negroes. The capital vested in negroes is so much taken from the value of the land.

If a man, therefore, does not own negroes, he must own more land than, as a general thing, he can bring into profitable use, if he would be qualified for the Legislature. But when a man owns a certain amount of land, he finds it necessary, in order to make it profitable, and to increase its value, to purchase negroes, and thus as he increases the quantity of his land, he becomes interested in slave property. In this way, even those Districts where there are but few slaves, will be represented by the owners of those slaves in the Legislature. They, therefore, will concur generally in measures for the support of the slave interest—and thus the whole House of Representatives must belong to the slaveholders. But to be a Senator requires twice the amount of freehold property qualification that it does to be a Representative. It will therefore follow that both Houses must represent the slave interest, not by a certain majority only, but with absolute unanimity. And the governor of the State, whose duty it is to recommend measures for the action of the Legislature, must also be worth not less than $7000 in settled estate. It will therefore follow that he, too, must be a slaveholder. But recollect, also, that his election is not by the people, but by the Legislature composed of slaveholders. The governor, therefore, is the Executive of the slave interest.

And now for your members of Congress. The two Senators are elected by the Legislature. They must therefore represent in the United States Senate the slave interest. Again, the Legislature divides the State into Congressional Districts, and of course it will so do it, that the Representatives in Congress shall represent the slaveholding Districts chiefly. The State is entitled to seven Representatives in Congress. Now mark how they have arranged it. The lower country, with a population of 115,470 whites, has four Representatives, while the upper country, with a white population of 143,614, has only three Representatives. In Congress, therefore, as well as in the State Legislature, it is the slave interest that is provided for. Again, the electors for President of the United States have been chosen, not directly by the people, but by the Legislature; and they, therefore, also represent this slave interest. Again, your judges and your ordinary magistrates are chosen by the Legislature. Thus the legislative, executive and judicial departments of your government are all the representatives of the slaveholding interest. And to make it sure that this order of government shall perpetually exist, the Constitution provides that 'No act of this Constitution shall be altered unless a bill to alter the same shall have been read three times in the House of Representatives, and three times in the Senate, and agreed to by two-thirds of both branches of the whole representation, neither shall any alteration take place until the bill so agreed to be published three months previous to a new election for members to the House of Representatives, and if the alteration proposed by the Legislature shall be agreed to at their first session, by two-thirds of the whole representation in both branches of the Legislature, after the same shall have been read three times, on three several days in each House, then, and not otherwise, the same shall become a part of the Constitution.' Now, I ask, when will this slaveholding Legislature, by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, in two different sessions, so alter the Constitution as to throw the majority of that body upon the side of the free interests of the State, where it rightfully belongs? They will never voluntarily do it, so long as their slaves can be any profit to them. You, therefore, fellow-citizens, who have no interest in slavery, but whose interests are directly opposed to it, are tied down, neck and heels, politically speaking, by this slaveholding power. You put your vote to the ballot-box, it is true, but you cannot vote for one of yourselves—you must make your selection from among this privileged class. Of what account, therefore, is your vote? It does not help you one particle, and serves to delude you with the idea that you are freemen, that you may not raise a clamor about your rights. And who are your masters? A class of aristocratic gentry, who, living upon the labor of slaves, for the most part, care not a straw what is the condition of the poor, but industrious white man, or what becomes of him or his family. If they can get some of them for their overseers, then they will take interest in according to their skill in driving unruly negroes. And they are glad to make use of all of you on patrol and military duty, to prevent a revolt of the wretched beings by whose toil they support their own indolent persons. And how many, let us ask, are these noble gentry, for whose comfort and ease not only their slaves are to toil, but their fellow-citizens must be oppressed by the deprivation of the right of representation? By no computation that can be made, can it be shown that there are more or can be more than 32,703 citizens in the State who have any direct interest in slaves. And this is, indeed, an exceedingly liberal allowance. Then look at it. In a population of nearly 600,000, there are 32,703 who not only have the despotic power over their 327,038 slaves, but the entire political power over 226,381 white citizens who cannot, by any constitutional means, redress themselves, when oppressed by legislative authority—who are so completely kept under, that they cannot even have the question of their proper rights brought into discussion in the only body that can constitutionally effect a change in the government. Is there a greater despotism under the canopy of heaven? The State is ruled entirely and completely by about 32,000 aristocrats, men, women and children, all told. They make your Legislature, your judges, your magistrates, your governor. And do these, your lords and masters, the slaveholding nobility, ever do any thing for the prosperity of the whole State? No, never, never! and yet these are they who prate about democracy and equal rights. What, for instance, have they done for the education of your children? They have provided for theirs. Our taxes have gone to the building of splendid college edifices, and the support of learned faculties, that the children of the rich may be liberally educated, whilst the children of the poorer but more industrious citizens have been left to get an education among the pine barrens of the sand hills and the forests of the hill country as best they can. In the northern free States, they have schools at the public expense all over the country, supplied with good teachers, and rich and poor all send their children to these schools, and thus we equally have the benefit of a good education. Hence, in New-England, you can seldom find a man who cannot read and write, but in our State, one fifth part of the adult whites cannot read, and, except the slaveholders, there are very few of the other four-fifths who can even do this with any thing like correctness. But this is the necessary policy of a slaveholding aristocracy. It is to their interest that those who do not own slaves should be kept in ignorance, or otherwise they would know how our interests are neglected, and our rights have been craftily stolen from us. You cannot, therefore, expect any plan to be adopted by our State that will give you any hope for the intellectual culture of your children.

What is the reason our State is not prosperous? We have natural advantages that ought to have given us prosperity equal to any State in the Union. Here are sixteen millions of acres of every diversity of soil and aspect, level, hilly, and mountainous, fourteen millions of which are yet uncultivated. The soil grows cotton, rice, indigo, Indian corn, wheat, rye, oats, potatoes, and, indeed, every thing the agriculturist wants. We have numerous streams for commercial and for manufacturing purposes. We have gold ore, silver ore, and iron. We have marble, and we have stone in abundance. We have fine harbors on our seacoast for foreign commerce. In a word, we have, with a salubrious climate, all that is necessary in the way of natural advantages, to make us as prosperous a people as any in the Union. Our men are sturdy, strong, athletic, and as capable of labor as any people. And yet, with such a people, and such natural advantages, we are going down hill. Our white population is diminishing. The last census shows a decrease in ten years of several thousand. Why is this? It is because our government gives no encouragement to free labor. We have nothing to stimulate enterprise. Hence, we have none coming in from abroad to buy up and improve our lands, and our own people, crushed down by a hidden oppression, are leaving the State to find a more prosperous home elsewhere. Fellow citizens, we must do something to save our beloved State from entire ruin. We must demand our rights, with a fixed determination to have them. The Constitution must be amended, so that the free population, not interested in slaves, may have their rightful representation in the government of the State. This matter of property qualification is anti-republican, and only fraught with disaster to the interests of the great majority of the people. And it will be a burning shame, if we longer allow this small handful of indolent, proud slaveholders, to rule over us rough shod, as they have been doing. Countrymen! rouse up for shame, and pour in your memorials to the Legislature, demanding an alteration of the Constitution. If they listen to you, well and good. If they do not, we can then see what further can be done. If we can once have a just representation, and then begin to legislate for free labor, we shall soon see our beloved State gaining in enterprise and importance. We shall be inviting a hardy class of emigrants among us, who understand farming and manufactures, before whose enterprise our wild lands and arid wastes will be converted into beautiful farms, our streams will give forth the hum of the shuttle and the wheel, our commerce will increase; and every thing will bear testimony of a free, an enterprising, and an enlightened people. God speed the day!

ARISTIDES.

September 7th, 1843.

The Twenty-First Rule.

It appears that there are some individuals at the South who condemn this outrageous infringement of constitutional rights. The editor of the New Orleans Tropic, a southern man, by his severe attacks upon it, has drawn down upon himself the wrath of the editor of the Courier, a '*northern man with southern principles*.' How many northern faces would blush on the perusal of his remarks were they not composed so entirely of that *unblushable* material, *dough*! Says the Tropic:

'In regard to the 21st rule, we remarked, on Monday, that we had never seen any thing approaching to an argument in its favor. We now repeat it, and will go further, and say that no argument can be made to sustain it. The Courier may fume, and fret, and denounce as much as it likes, but the editor, with all his ability, all his sophistry, cannot make a sensible argument in its favor. We do not recognise the power of the House of Representatives to establish the 21st rule. The declaration that Congress has no power over the subject, is no argument in favor of the rule, or if it is, Congress can stop the mouths and stifle the voices of the people upon nearly all the great political questions of the day.'

THE LIBERATOR

BOSTON:

FRIDAY MORNING, JANUARY 12, 1844.

[FROM THE EDITOR.]

Milford, N. H. Jan 9, 1844.

Dear Friend:

I am now on a flying visit to the Granite State, and shall probably be absent from my editorial post some ten or twelve days. Who can eulogize too extravagantly the rapidity and comfort of a rail-road conveyance at this inclement season of the year? My ride from Boston to Nashua was as pleasant as though it had been on a June morning, with flowers in bloom, and Nature clad in her most gorgeous habiliments. The car had summer weather inside, so that it was a matter of perfect indifference to the passengers how Boreas raged around it. Absorbed in reading, I found myself at Nashua almost unconsciously. Success to all rail-road enterprises, the world over! Humanity can contemplate them with delight, even though old Mammon may, for a time, endeavor to make them subservient to his own base purposes. They will bring the human race together in a manner and under circumstances that will mightily hasten the time when 'nation shall no longer lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' O for the day when peace, plenty, joy and righteousness shall pervade our wo-begone, sin-stricken earth universally!

I was somewhat disappointed in not meeting my beloved friend N. P. Rogers at Nashua, though I hope to see him before my return home. Seeing a temperance hotel near the depot, I went into it, forgetting that it was kept by an esteemed acquaintance of mine, Joseph Stevens. I believe his is the only hotel in the place, that is conducted on strictly temperance principles, and I need not urge on the teetotal travelling community the duty of sustaining it by their patronage. Mr Stevens is a worthy, industrious man, who has long been manfully struggling against adverse fortune, and who deserves all possible encouragement in his present position; for a great deal yet remains to be done for the cause of temperance in Nashua.

I found a strong hearted abolition friend of this place at N. waiting to convey me in his sleigh to Milford. It was my first sleigh ride for the season, and as the road was in a most excellent condition, and our horse a good traveller, we came almost with the fleetness and ease of steam conveyance.

In this town the anti-slavery forces are nominally strong—probably more so than those of any other place in New-Hampshire. At the last election, the Liberty party cast one hundred and one votes, and there were from thirty to fifty abolition voters who did not vote, from conscientious scruples and other causes. There is a wide division, an impassable gulph, here, between the friends of old and new organization, the former being considerably in the minority, but as active, courageous, uncompromising, generous, out and out abolitionists as can be found on any portion of the globe. They are nearly all 'come-outers,' of the truest mould and the best stamp, and by their words of truth and deeds of power, they cause priestcraft and sectarism, in all this region, to gnaw their tongues for pain. The new organizationists go en masse with the Liberty party, with the priesthood, and with sect, and are as hollow and spurious as religious impostors could desire. Morally speaking, they say nothing and do nothing, except to slander and assail those faithful champions of our cause, who are directing their energies for the overthrow of 'the bulwarks of American slavery.' They have no controversy with religious pro-slavery, but are noisy and valuable when election day comes, and active in their endeavors to secure for themselves the loaves and fishes of office. Voting the Liberty party ticket is with them 'the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth' that James G. Birney ought to be President of the United States. Morally speaking, I am more and more convinced, by inquiry and observation, that the Liberty party, as such, in *New England*, is utterly unprincipled, and the most insidious, and therefore the most dangerous foe with which genuine anti-slavery has to contend. I am pained, I am surprised to learn, from various quarters, that there are many who call themselves 'old organized abolitionists,' who cast their votes with the Liberty party, though they know, in this part of the country at least, it was 'conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity,' that its leaders are not trust-worthy, and that a large majority of its supporters are making use of it as a substitute for moral action, and as a foil to ward off the blows which are aimed at a pro-slavery church and priesthood. Let them not say that they are reduced to the alternative of voting with that party, in consequence of the pro-slavery character of the whig and democratic parties. It is not true. If they must vote, they can testify against all these parties by scattering their votes on those in whom they can confide. But I think duty requires of them, as abolitionists, not to vote at all, but to 'let the dead bury their dead,' to refuse to sustain the present Constitution of the United States, and to demand, in the name of God and humanity, a dissolution of our blood-cemented, atheistical Union.

On Saturday evening, I lectured to the people on slavery, and yesterday, in the forenoon and afternoon addressed them at considerable length on Non-Resistance, the Ministry, Church, Worship, the Sabbath, &c. There were many more present than I expected to see. In the evening, I listened to a temperance lecture from a young Irishman, of considerable talent and address, but was sorry to hear him advocate 'a legal suasion' for the temperance cause—in other words, the use of club law, the sword and bayonet, in order to manifest the *love of Washingtonians*, and the *spirit of the Lamb of God!*

But I write in haste, and must add some further particulars in my next letter. I start immediately for New Ipswich.

Yours, faithfully,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

N. B. Just remind the genuine friends of anti-slavery in and out of Massachusetts, that they are expected to rally in great strength at the annual meeting of the State Society on the 23d instant in Boston, in order that the State House and Faneuil Hall may rock beneath their tread, and resound with their voices.

The Tenth Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair.

The gross receipts of this effort in behalf of the anti-slavery cause, are about $2800. The receipt of so large a sum, notwithstanding the almost impassable condition of the streets, the inclemency of the weather, the consequent prevalent epidemic, and more than all, notwithstanding the prejudices and calumnies scattered far and wide against the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society by the leaders of the third party, is indeed cheering to all who remember the slaves as in bonds with them.

Our joy ought indeed to be great in the aid we receive, when we consider the amount of the hostility and the variety of the obstacles through which it reaches us. Our love of beauty, and our admiration of elegance and industry, are highly gratified by the sight of the beautiful and useful things it sent pouring in from Lyons, Nantucket, New-Bedford, Weymouth, West Roxbury, Plymouth, Andover, Abington, Stoneham, Duxbury, Hingham, Roxbury, Newburyport, Salem, Dedham, Medfield, Warren, Leominster, Lunenburg, Concord, Milton, Quincy, Boylston, Taunton, Brookfield, Leicester, Northampton, Hudson, N. Y. Newtown, Pennsylvania, Dorchester, Bedford, Townsend, Hanover, Pawtucket, and from many other towns, not to mention at present the labors of Boston, or the admired contributions of our friends in Europe. The whole exhibition was never before so abundant, brilliant and rare. But great as is the pleasure thus afforded to the fancy and the taste, it bears no comparison with the high satisfaction conveyed to the heart. Not one of these brilliant and beautiful trifles, not one of these elaborate and useful articles, but is an emblem of the humane feeling, of the religious sense of duty, of the reverence for justice and freedom, above all, of that noblest virtue the *fidelity* of the heart that offers it to the cause of the slave's deliverance. Truly to appreciate this exalted fidelity, one must know the *history* of the last ten years, with all their trials and temptations. Fully to estimate the strength of soul which has remained thus faithful, one must be aware of the position of the abolitionists during that time, crushed as only the *good grain* can be, between the upper and the nether millstones of social and ecclesiastical institutions whose machinery is worked and regulated by slavery. Even if it be their mission to be crushed, that so the people so long fed on husks, may at length receive the truth which can alone make free, are theirs the souls to shrink from duty because it is severe and painful? It is surely well worth a life, to save a race from slavery, a land from disgrace, a people from ruin, to save from extinction the conservative principles of right and love and truth, and may God strengthen them, at whatever cost or consequence, for the fulfilment of such high duty evermore!

How little can the mere careless beholder appreciate the cost or the consequences of even this financial effort to those who have made it. Only the initiated in anti-slavery labors can comprehend the sacrifice of feeling, the conflict of soul which has attended it—There is not a woman our broad New England through, who has toiled at midnight by the feeble light of her well-saved lamp, to produce those exquisite works which you so much admire, who has not done it at a sacrifice of which you can form no idea, unless you also have been an abolitionist. She was one looked up to as a pious and influential member of her church; a superintendent, it may be, of the Sabbath instruction of the youth of her parish, 'a mother in Israel.' She took a forward step in her religious experience, and became more worthy of respect, and influence, and confidence, she strove to live the principles she heard and taught, and she soon found at how great a cost to themselves persons leave the world better than they found it. Her brother and sister church-members feel reproached by her endeavors to be more true to God and humanity than the church and the ministry have hitherto been. Her minister is in association with his brethren to dry up, if possible, by both public and private ministrations, every fount of sympathy for the cause of freedom which is springing up. He told her that Garrison was an infidel. The assertion did but prove himself the foe of the cause, and awakened her mind to inquire into the ecclesiastical *reasons* for circulating a calumny so groundless. She found that Garrison had given a true witness in favor of the slave, and against the American church and clergy, as *pro-slavery*, and that, therefore, calumny was resorted to, to break down his testimony, and her fidelity to the cause remained unshaken. Her minister then begged her to change the channel of her labors, by withdrawing her aid from the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society—the original movement for the abolition of slavery by preaching the truth in love, and to spend her strength in paying electioneering expenses, and sustaining political partisans; for since slavery (so he argued) was the creature of law, it could be abolished only by changing the law makers. Sooner or later such fallacy might have produced some impression, had she not known the hatred of him who proposed it to anti-slavery truth. But that knowledge made her pause to examine, and examination showed her that to change the law-makers was not, necessarily, to change the hearts of the people, while to change the hearts of the people was necessarily to abolish slavery. Finding himself unable to shake her faith in the power of truth, or to increase it to the power of politics—finding her determined to have the latter for a servant, and not for a master, her minister next proposes an association to clothe fugitive slaves as a substitute in the parish for the Anti Slavery Society auxiliary to the Massachusetts A. S. Society, with which she labors. To clothe the naked is a good deed, and it had been so in this case, had it been performed from a good motive. It were a good deed had it been done without the accompanying proposal to leave a better one undone. Observation and reflection show our friend that her minister's 'Hiram Wilson Society,' as he calls it, is but the evil contrivance of a pro-slavery soul, hard-pressed by the progress of the great idea of freedom. Evil as its origin was, she rejoices that out of it may come bread for the hungry, and clothing for the naked. Freedom for the slave she well sees can never come out of it, for does it not make him free to dwell in his own land '*where it liketh him best?*' Exile from family and native clime is not freedom. It is at best but forced colonization, while every one who escapes raises the price of those who remain. Our coadjutor, therefore, remains steadfast against persecution and persuasion, fallacy and calumny, in her adhesion to the original movement—the Massachusetts A. S. Society, for it vigorously upholds the great truths which are of might to change the will of a people, and before which politicians and congresses have no choice but to bow.

Though a *delightful* occasion on account of the opportunity it affords us of seeing those to whom we are united by the strong tie of devotion to a common cause, our annual Fair is a *very toilsome* one, and it

becomes more and more laborious as it gains hold on the community, and increases the amount of its offering to the cause. Scarcely now is the pressure of business through the whole week and a half devoted to it, that there is but little time to notice the increasing value and beauty of the articles, or the growing appropriateness and brilliancy of the decorations. Hardly one of the continual throng of visitors has seen the whole at a single view; as hundreds of dollars worth of goods were purchased and removed before others arrived, and scarcely any of the most admirable articles remained on hand long enough to challenge general admiration.

Mottos, for the cause's sake, the impressive mottoes wreathed with evergreen, which grace the establishment of such dear and [illegible]. These are the words which are sinking deep into a nation's heart, and they are worthy to be the watchwords of a nobler generation than this our slaveholding one. 'Hide the outcast!' 'Pro aris liber!' 'Fac et Spera!' 'Remember them that are in bonds!' '[illegible]' 'Nihil alienum humani!' 'Spes mea in Deo!' 'Work and despair not!' Over the doors of entrance, the mottoes of the Liberator and the Standard are conspicuous—'My country is the world—my countrymen are all mankind,' and 'Without concealment—without compromise.' In each pier hang the banners that bear the heart-stirring thoughts of our living—the sacred words of our dead,—words that are yet instinct with their spirit, and which are of power to strengthen the hearts to whom they left this battle for the right as a heritage. Let no one think that it will not be valiantly and successfully fought out. Trusted and dear are those who bear its banners, but the conflict never slackens when they are removed; if any shrink, the indignant host rushes over them, and they who fill the armor of right and truth, become in very deed the leaders of the spirits of those they leave in the thick of the battle. Springing out of the deepest feelings and convictions of our being, a cause like this can never die away. There are the inspiring words of our departed Follen, on the banner above the name—West Roxbury, and the motto 'Work and despair not.' 'Shall a republic,' he said—(he, the exile from despotic lands, for the sake of freedom)—'Shall a republic be less free than a monarchy? Shall the free United States, which could not brook the bondage of a king, cradle the bondage that a king has abolished?' Beside this floats the declaration of our living Garrison. 'I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard!' And has it not been heard, brave, true heart? Ay, by the whole generation of the living, and remote posterity shall never hear those words, and think of the perilous hour when they were spoken, without feeling that 'honest rush of blood' that bears the soul onward to deeds of holier devotedness. How many are the faces venerable and beautiful that seem to our memories still fairer and more venerable through the mists of death, that we see no more in those scenes which their presence once made joyful; of some the names have from some accidental cause been heard far and wide, while others lived and died no less devotedly,

'But the world knew not then,
Not then, nor ever, what true hearts had fled!
Yet these are they that on the souls of men
Come back when night her folding veil hath spread,
The long remembered dead.'

On each of these numerous banners floats the strong thought of some heroic soul, from those but late departed, or yet numbered with our living band, to the high heart with which we feel our kindred held of the Hebrew chronicles, who banded the hosts together for the maintenance of right, crying 'God himself is with us for our captain.'

Here, beneath the banner bearing the fac simile of the famous Philadelphia Bell, cast before the revolution with the inscription, 'Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof,' you may find our anti-slavery annual, 'the Liberty Bell,' now for the fifth time issued. The abolitionists are for the most part, rather doers and thinkers than writers; yet here are many pages excellent as writings, and some still more excellent as testimonies—pages which are actions rather than words, for they express the adhesion of the writers to a despised but most noble and righteous cause. Such adhesions are the stuff that the literature of the after age is made of, although they cannot claim affinity with the literature of to-day, for the very reason that they must be classed not with letters, but with acts.

An excellent opportunity is afforded by this publication for the dissemination of anti-slavery truth in fields generally too much neglected; and who can calculate the good effect of the same truth so variously stated? Arrows are to be found in this quiver of every size and weight. We require the name of each contributor; for thus headed, the arrow bears the scroll where no cheerful wind could waft it. The pro-slavery circle of each individual writer is thus more effectually stirred than it could be if the article were unaccompanied with the name.* 'Personalities forsooth!' we say: for what, in fact, is truth? It is practically a statement made by persons, to persons, regarding persons for the benefit of persons: or it is an abstraction undeserving the name. This should be remembered, by those who censure in the abolitionists as 'severely and unnecessarily personal,' what is, in reality, truly philosophical, and indeed, unavoidable.

But a small edition of the Liberty Bell was printed for the Fair, and it was so rapidly disposed of that it will soon be difficult to get a copy. It is to be found only at the Anti-Slavery Office 25 Cornhill.

A walk round the hall, if we can find time for it, would show us how deeply our effort is indebted to the friends of England, Scotland and Ireland. These beautiful water-color sketches of [illegible], Johannisberg, Rolandseck, &c. are from Mary Carpenter, daughter of the highly esteemed Lant Carpenter, of England. They are the fruits of her exquisite taste during a tour on the Rhine, and they are all purchased while we are admiring them. Look at the contributions from Dublin, and thank the generous hearts of Anne and Richard Allen—of the daughters of the beloved James Haughton, and of our brother R. D. Webb and family. From how many towns in Ireland have beautiful and generous contributions been offered? They are but in few instances the offerings of wealth, but how excellent are the taste, the ingenuity and industry here displayed. How just are the perceptions of the beautiful here indicated. So also of the contributions from Cork and Scotland, which arrived in the midst of the Fair, and were swept off at once by a throng of purchasers. Here is one contribution at once elegant and useful: a very expensive foot brush for a hall door, made of the Irish bog-oak. 'A gift,' as the inscription testifies, 'from the workmen of the Messrs. Varian's manufactory, to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Bazaar, Boston.' Can one look at such proofs of remembrance of our cause among a people that is itself oppressed, without feeling the heart fill with grateful emotion? The time would fail, to enumerate all the articles that excited admiration and gratitude in the beholders. The elaborate bell-pulls, and cushions, and bags, and embroidery, and linen, and infants clothing, and papetrie, from Dublin, and Cork, and Wexford, and Tralee, and Limerick, and many other towns, and even from Guernsey, which, somehow, seems so much farther off; the shawls, and scarfs, and caps, and aprons, and dresses, and dolls dresses, from Glasgow and Edinburgh; the beautiful herbarium, the plants from all the classic spots of classic Scotland—we cannot fully enumerate, but we shall always gratefully remember. From places we never heard of before, came cheering testimonials that they know us for our cause's sake. From [illegible] and Wolverhampton came aid and encouragement, which may the givers find returned 'heaped up and running over, into their own bosom.'

* And this with the [illegible] of the funds devoted to the publication is the reason why a few excellent articles for which it was hoped there would be space, have not appeared.

Many gratifying incidents came to our knowledge during this slight inspection of the tables. Here is an attractive volume, lettered 'Sea Offering.' It contains beautifully preserved specimens of our New England marine plants, and was sent to us the last season; a highly valued token of interest in our cause. Look at the waving ferns from Plymouth, beneath the banner which bears the landing of the Pilgrims. This day is the 223d anniversary of the landing, the 22d of December; and yet one might think it early autumn if you did not look beyond the richly tinted foliage and waving grass, which have been preserved to ornament our little festival of Freedom. Here, too, are fragments of the Rock, for the sentimental geologist, or patriotic antiquarian. The long expected Tunbridge ware at length arrives, but it is eclipsed by the novelty and beauty of the [illegible] table stand beside it, which you will think came from Japan, till you learn that it is a monument of the taste and perseverance to be found in Watertown.

Towards the close of the Fair, a whole edition of the neatest of all possible little pamphlets is brought in. It is entitled, 'Poems on Slavery, for Christmas, 1843. Dedicated to Eliza Lee Follen, and published by the author for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair.' The author allows no name to accompany his welcome gift to the cause; but it has since been learned that he is a recent graduate from Harvard, who made himself a name there, as a scholar and as a man. It is in no ordinary degree a manly and christian act, in a youth preparing for the ministry, to aid the advocates of the slave, at the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair, and they warmly thank him, and fervently wish him strength for the anti-slavery work. There is great truth and power in Mr Hill's picture of

THE DEATH OF THE SLAVE.

In a low and ill thatched hut,
Stretched on a floor of clay,
With scanty clothing round her wrapped,
The dying woman lay.

No husband's kindly hand,
No loving child was near,
To offer her their aid, or shed
The sympathizing tear.

For now the ripened cane
Was ready for the knife,
And not a slave could be spared to aid
His mother or his wife.

She is struggling now with Death,—
Deep was dying groan,
For a corpse now lies on the cold clay floor,
The soul, set free, has flown.

The planter, walking by,
Glanced at the door his step,
And he cursed his luck, 'there was one hand less
To gather in the crop.'

O, Jesus! hast thou said
'The poor your care shall be,'
Who visit not the poor and sick,
They visit not to me!

We have old books as well as new books, thanks to Richard D. Webb and Robert F. Wallcut.

'When,' says the author of Elia, 'a book is both good and rare—when the individual is almost the species, and when that perishes—

'We know not where is that Promethean touch
That can its light relumine,'—

such a book, for instance, as the 'Life of the Duke of NEWCASTLE,' by his Duchess,—no casket is rich enough, no casing sufficiently durable to honor and keep safe such a jewel.' In other passages Lamb reverts to this book in the same strain, and there it lies, the illustrious folio, under your very hand; probably the only one within a thousand miles of you out of a great public institution, and perhaps not to be got for a thousand dollars—unless you seize this opportunity of getting it for something less. Look at it, for the sake of 'that princely woman, the thrice noble Margaret Newcastle,' buy it, for the sake of the cause, if not as a bibliophilist. See here also the rapsodie of Pope Sixtus IV. a very rare book—much rarer than was at first supposed. We have no way, by means of books, in this country, of determining precisely when and where it was printed. But it is believed to be the oldest printed book in New England. It is not to be found on the catalogues of some of the most valuable libraries in Europe. By comparison with such authorities as our own country affords, this book must have been published twelve years before the birth of Martin Luther, and twenty-one years before the discovery of America. Accompanying this is a work of the celebrated Gerson, chancellor of Paris in the 14th century, bold and persecuted condemner of the unjust death of the Duke of Orleans at the instance of the Duke of Burgundy, deputy to the rival Popes Gregory and Benedict, ambassador of Charles VI. at the council of Constance, and, alas! the powerful opponent of Huss. A work of St. Chrysostom, from the press of Ulric Zell, the printer of this book, at least 30 years after this of Gerson, appears to have been sold in France in 1811, for 900 francs. This book will become more and more valuable, and an object of increasing interest with each successive generation; and while we wish as abolitionists, that it might be sold for the benefit of the anti-slavery treasury, we wish, as bibliographers, that it might be presented by the purchaser to some public library in this country, where it will no longer be in danger from the accidents which befal private libraries on the breaking up of families. Many other very rare books solicit attention; among which are Sir Kenelm Digby's Powder of Sympathy—Josselyn's New England Rarities—a copy of the original edition of the translation of Clarkson's Essay—Ancient Scottish Songs—Histoire de la Papesse, from the Latin of Schaffer—the Paston Letters, &c.

There has been a brisk little trade kept up in autographs, thanks chiefly to our friends R. D. and Hannah Webb, Andrew Robeson, and George Downes. The latter is a member of the Royal Irish Academy, and author of several works, historical and antiquarian, one of which, 'A Tour in the North of Europe,' you will find at the bookstable. All these friends will be glad to hear, that 60 dollars of the receipts of this Fair was the result of their kindness in sending us a supply of autographs.

A half day might be profitably spent by a slaveholder in examining the various devices by which to fasten thought upon minds that never before entertained it on the subject of slavery. Even the very dolls communicate moral instruction that would be sought in vain of many clergymen. One from Scotland holds a paper towards you with this inscription: 'Buy me if you will;—there is no sin in it;—I am not your fellow-creature.' Another says, 'Sell me, as they do women and children in your country. It will be no sin in my case.' This year's edition of anti-slavery needle books can show many pointed things; and under their influence may all the needles in the country become anti-slavery weapons. Here is one of them: 'Abolish slavery, or dissolve the Union.' Here is another from James Russell Lowell, and it well deserves to be a household word:

'Let us speak plain: there is more force in names
Than most men dream of; and a lie may keep
Its throne a whole age longer, if it skulk
Behind the shield of some fair-seeming name.
Let us call tyrants tyrants, and maintain
That only freedom comes by grace of God,
And all that comes not by his grace must fall!'

Here is a pair of shoes, fit type of Third party and new organization, with the heel piece fastened to the toe, so that the track shall deceive those on the trail of slavery into thinking that the wearer is advancing, while he is, in fact, on the retreat.

Passing from the book table to the department of ladies dress, pause a moment to admire these silk gloves from the environs of Dublin, of a new and delicate fabric like nothing so much as the spider's web in transparent lightness. Slight as they are, there has been a thread of benediction in them. The manufacture was established by a benevolent lady, whose pecuniary means could not keep pace with her good wishes. She drew upon her taste and invention to supply the deficiency, and her young women, formerly suffering for want of employment, now obtain a comfortable livelihood, without leaving their parents' cabins. These gloves are woven to exhibit [illegible] of the United Kingdom, [illegible] the misery [illegible] manufacture alleviates, and [illegible] friends for the sake of the anti-slavery [illegible]. Thus the work of love has become [illegible] blessed [illegible] the argument, as every work [illegible] —to the most illustrious [illegible].

* For these we were indebted to William Ware and C. L. Remond, and for most of the others to John C. [illegible] and Julius Ames,—all friends of the cause.

The portraits [illegible] which the Fair [illegible] with [illegible] Dr. Channing and Dr. Follen, Washington and Van Buren, Vandyke's noble lady of the house of Medici, and the nobler Prudence Crandall; Harriet Martineau and George Thompson, who with Edward S. Abdy, and Lord Morpeth, are the only English travellers whose names we recollect, that passed over through this crouching land, and gave on the spot the same undisguised testimony in favor of the cause, that other travellers kept back till a more convenient season. Numberless are the travellers who have borne present testimony to Methodist abolition—to Baptist abolition—to new organization abolition—to political abolition—but to anti-slavery proper,—the truth in love for freedom,—without party or sect to back it up, sustained only by the very few individuals from each sect and party, who dare to make their lives a practical rebuke to the lives of their pro-slavery associates,—to this despised and contemned, but only true thing, of which the rest are but the simulacra, how few have done meet reverence!

Let the eye run along this line of ministers, soldiers and statesmen of our American history, and gather, if it can, from the lineaments of Adams, Livingston, Sedgwick, Van Rensselaer, Dwight, Hamilton, Williams, Jefferson, Madison, Clinton, and many others, the knowledge whether these men, had they enjoyed the light which has since evolved from the agitation of the anti-slavery question, would not have long ago repented even in sackcloth and ashes, of the sin which those who wear their mantles yet cling to.

Besides the excellent copies, here is a veritable Stuart—Livingston, king's [illegible] in the colonial times. Is it strong republican prejudice that makes this, though the work of so great a master, less pleasant to look upon than the rest? Next is placed an undoubted Holbein, and at the other end of the line, a fine copy by Mr. Douglas, of Philadelphia, of Kemble as Hamlet; while the centre is graced by Mr Pratt's interesting picture, the breaking of the chain. The head of the slave is one of the finest things in our collection.

A most interesting incident of the Fair was the appearance of the little child of 9 years old, rescued from slavery by the benevolence of Mr. E. G. Loring, and by the conscientious scruples about holding a human being as a slave working in the mind of the gentleman to whom this child was allotted in process of slaveholding law, in discharge of a debt. Our business with the community is to plant and cherish such scruples. The sight of an intelligent child, neatly clothed, learning the alphabet of the other children who visited the Fair, instead of running wild and naked upon a Louisiana plantation, stimulates every just and feeling heart afresh for the abolition of the brutalizing system under which 60,000 children are annually born. We have kept a list of all contributors with their donations, both at home and abroad. We thought to have published it, with grateful acknowledgements for the sake of THE CAUSE; but we received the same request from various quarters, not to publish any names of donors, so, unless we could obtain the names of all, it would be invidious to do so.—Those from whom we have heard personally shall hear from us speedily; and to those who have chosen to conceal the hand with which they aided us, we present this our grateful assurance that we 'bear them continually on our hearts before the Lord, although we know not their names.' We were gratified to see among our visitors this year, an unusually large number of gentlemen and ladies of color, and we rejoice to be able to say that our example is always potent enough to secure for them the respect they deserve, even from the most prejudiced of our white visitors.

A far more satisfactory sketch of this interesting week might be given under the head of 'Conversation at the Fair.'

'Why do you not devise some plan to concert with the slaveholder to effect your object?' said one who calls himself as much an abolitionist as any one, but no fanatic. 'Why not have all the children born after 1850 free?' Slaveholders do not dare to have even the free stewards of northern vessels going at large among their slaves. They do not dare (see message of the Governor of South-Carolina) to have them shut up in jail with slaves. We must consent to have our vessels turned into prison-ships for the time being, lest discontent be excited among a people so happy and contented that they would not be free if they could. Judge then what is likely to ensue, when the rising generation, being all free, the descending one begins to realize that the purpose is that it shall die in slavery. Will not the free children sympathize with their slave parents? will the masters' throats be safe in this your plan? 'Well, then! Make the whole free in fifteen years—get the masters to agree with you to that.' 'What right have we to agree that a whole generation, two and a half millions of people, shall lose fifteen years of their lives in slavery? I can't agree to it. I never will agree to it—They ought to be free now. If I take my hand from the [illegible],—[illegible] slip into the mud,—never. If it is right to hold them an hour, it is right to hold them always, as they know who try to put off the day. As it ought not to be put off, we shall constantly make it our business that it shall not be put off.' 'Why are you abolitionists squabbling perpetually among yourselves?' 'Do not insult us by calling new organization and third party ourselves. We have no connexion or sympathy with either. They have deserted, assaulted, calumniated, swindled the abolitionists. Having taken so much pains to disconnect themselves from us, you are unfair to them also.' 'But they want to have you forget it.' 'You mean they want to take advantage of us again. We shall rejoice to forget it when they make it right and safe for the cause by their repentance. Till then, it will be sufficient to forgive it.' (A third speaker.) 'But, so far as I understand it, they ought to be glad to have persons like you, out of the whirlpool of politics, to keep them straight.' 'Ah! they don't want to be kept straight! that's the very it; they want to go crooked.' 'But there are good men among them, are there not?' 'Yes, many, as in the other parties, for whom we have a high regard. But there are not enough of them to have changed, as yet, the course of the party. We shall know when it is as good as other parties, by its renunciation of its present leading influences. Whether it is then better, we shall learn by observing what candidates and organs it substitutes. But let it be or do what it may, we shall never commit our cause to the keeping of a political party. It is our business to arouse the slumbering manhood in all.' 'Ah! I see you abolitionists are hard customers.' 'The only ones whose hearts have softened towards the forgotten slaves.' 'But you are unwise. You might make a pretty thing of it for yourselves, politically, as I see some of you are trying to do.' 'Don't call the man one of us, who is trying to make something out of it for himself.'

Thus, one by one might the listener hear all the points of the cause discussed. Had we been less successful in raising funds, we should have felt amply repaid for our fatigue in the impression evidently made on the city. Hearts are touched, and kindly feeling increased. Truth is disseminated and error confuted, and that, too, in quarters that no other agency could have reached.

By the kindness of a little private committee, on Christmas night, the old and sacred associations of Freedom with the coming and the name of Christ, have [illegible] to many minds from which the age has been striving to obliterate them. The unpropitious state of the weather prevented so large an attendance of little ones as was hoped, but those who were present were greatly gratified. The following sonnet, from the Liberty Bell, well describes the picture of Christ the Consoler, by means of which we have hoped to do somewhat towards bringing again the long forgotten slave within the pale of Christian sympathy.

SONNET.

CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR.

'Saviour! Consoler! to thy presence bending,
Lo, what a train of mourners round Thee wait!
What earnest prayers, from breaking hearts ascending,
Thy blessed help and comfort importune!
Great as their sorrow, is Thy mercy great!
The youthful mother, weeping for her child—
The murderer, haunted by remorse, too late—
The maniac, tortured by his fancies wild;—
And chief, the fettered and forsaken slave
Among the crowd of sufferers claims a place;
Stronger than all, that claim on Him who gave
His life's ransom for the human race.
When we, as servants, on Thy mercy call,
May we, like Thee, have loved and pitied all!'

It was with no common emotions, after the toils and duties of the week, that we bade each other farewell, resolving to do more and better than ever before for our cause during the coming year, and trusting that the willing heart will never lack the means to uphold a cause so holy as this of HUMAN FREEDOM.—M. W. C.

Adelphic Union.

The lectures before this praiseworthy Association continue to attract the attention elicited at their commencement. That by Frederick Douglass, on Tuesday evening week, was very fully attended, and the audience were highly gratified with the performance of this attractive speaker. His subject—'The One Hundred Conventions'—excited general interest, and the known ability of the lecturer, and the fact that he participated largely in the toils and pleasures of this important movement, naturally inspired confidence and raised expectations that the lecture would be highly interesting; nor did this confidence prove misplaced, nor were these anticipations disappointed; but, on the contrary, we believe they were more than realized. We will not attempt, at this late hour, to recall to our memory and present to the reader the numerous interesting incidents he narrated, in his peculiar manner, displaying his versatile genius, and captivating the senses of his audience. All must have been astonished when they reflected that, but four years since, the chains of the slave were clanking on the sinewy limbs of the manly form before them, and that the soul which flashed in the lightning of that keen eye, was at that time shut up in the prison-house of slavery. The various incidents that occurred to him, during the progress of the Conventions, some of them melancholy, and others ludicrous, were narrated in a manner corresponding to their character, especially the latter class, which were exhibited to the life, by his power over the comic. His account of the scene presented by the murderous mob which assailed one of the meetings of the lecturers in Indiana, blending as it did the tragic with the comic, was of thrilling interest. All must have admired the noble heroism and self devotion of the intrepid White, on the trying occasion, when, seeing Douglass prostrate, and the uplifted club of the murderous ruffian just ready to fall upon the head of its victim, he bravely threw himself across the outstretched body of his helpless friend, (while the frantic demons about him were crying 'Kill the nigger,') and averted the intended fatal blow. Douglass had the bones of his right hand broken, and White received a severe cut on the head. The ready wit of Bradburn proved of great practical utility to him, on this occasion. When commanded by the mob, with threatening words and pugilistic gestures, to 'clear out,' feigning unusual deafness, he would place his hand behind his ear, as he is wont, and coolly ask—'What do you say, my friends?' To every storm of their wrath directed against him, he would adroitly reiterate, in a conciliatory manner, with his hand still up to his ear, this quiet inquiry, 'What do you say, my friends?' till one of their number relented in his rage towards Bradburn, and crying out, 'Don't touch that man, if you do I'll knock you down—he is deaf,' the rage of the others abated, and the shrewd lecturer walked off, unharmed. In describing this part of the scene, the mimic powers of Douglass were brought into full play, and the exhibition was truly rich, eliciting great applause. We were sorry however, to witness the manifestations of triumphant rejoicing exhibited by a portion of the audience, at Douglass 'forgetting, for a moment, his non-resistance principles, when he seized a club, and, in the generous impulse of his nature, rushed to the rescue of one whom he supposed to be his friend White. As he manifested regret and shame at this momentary surrender of his principles, such manifestations of triumph were, to say the least, untimed, and exceedingly out of place. Non-resistance still bides its time, and will yet gloriously triumph, to the overwhelming confusion of its enemies.

The lecturer evinced, too, his love of Nature, in attractively depicting her variously multiplied forms, from the beautiful landscape of the valley to the sublime mountain and the appalling cataract. Though the descriptive powers of Chateaubriand might depict the beauties of the one in more splendid diction, and describe the grandeur of the others in more powerful language, his descriptions would scarcely inspire the soul with more devotional feeling, in view of God's handy work, than did the language and manner of Douglass, on this occasion, which wrapt his auditory in profound silence, and inspired the devout mind to

'Look through nature up to nature's God.'

At the close of the lecture, C. L. Remond proposed a contribution for that devoted friend of the slave, Parker Pillsbury, now in affliction from sickness and want, which was responded to instanter, by the sympathetic offerings of the meeting.

The lecture on Tuesday evening last was delivered by Wendell Phillips. He modestly termed it, however, alluding to his want of preparation, 'a talk.' His theme was, the study of History; and though he pretended but to 'talk,' he discoursed eloquent language, and opened a mine of rich thought on his subject. His hints relative to the study of history were truly valuable. Indeed, on the subject of reading in general, his remarks were very apt. Justly did he observe, alluding to the superficial manner in which people in general peruse books, that they did not read at all—that is, the mind did not receive and retain—did not (so to speak) properly digest the facts presented, which it must do, to give it nutriment and strength. The perusing of history merely to acquire a bare knowledge of events and dates, is not reading it. Something more than this is necessary, is indispensable. The mind must be made to apprehend the cause and the consequences of great events, in order to derive proper benefit from the knowledge. This must be done by acquiring and exercising the power of concentrating the thoughts and fixing the attention firmly on one point at a time. Allusion was made to remarkable instances of this kind in the cases of Sir Humphrey Davy, Edmund Burke, the celebrated Dr. Hunter of London, &c. Intense industry, also, must be superadded to these other qualifications, in order to make them extensively useful, as in the case of the last named distinguished character, who covered the walls of a large hall with skeletons which he had prepared by labors performed before [illegible] o'clock in the morning. This distinguished practitioner was originally a poor boy from Scotland, and arrived to his eminence (being at the head of his profession in London, if not in all Europe,) by his remarkable power of fixing his attention to one point, and holding it there, till the mind accomplished its task, however difficult. This fact, with others equally illustrative of the power of a fixed and determined resolution to surmount whatever obstacles may obstruct the path to eminence, was presented to the members of the Association and all others who would travel in that path, as examples worthy of imitation.

We took no notes of this lecture, nor of the one previously spoken of, and regret that we have neither time nor ability to give a full sketch of friend Phillips's 'talk,' but refrain from any further attempt to present even a meagre outline of any other portion of it, lest, in comparison with the original, it should prove a mere burlesque.—s.

General Agency.

It will be seen by the subjoined note, that friend Phillips declines his appointment as General Agent. This declination will be received with much regret by the friends of the cause universally.

Friend Garrison:

As your last paper noticed the request of the Board of Managers to myself to serve them as General Agent, I will ask room in this week's paper to say, that circumstances will not permit me to accept the appointment.

Yours, WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Boston, Jan 8.

Henry C. Wright.

North-Brookfield, Dec 29, 1843.

William Lloyd Garrison:

Dear Friend—Since I have returned from Europe, I have often been inquired of relative to our mutual friend, Henry C. Wright, what the state of his health was, what he was doing, &c., and presuming that there are many in this country who would like to hear from him, I will state through the Liberator, that I first met Mr Wright abroad, in London, at the Anti-Slavery Convention in June last. He was not a member of that body, not being satisfied, I believe, with its organization, but he attended very constantly, and took extensive notes of its proceedings. Upon the organization of the Peace Convention, Mr Wright took his seat as a member, and acted a conspicuous part in its deliberations, and gave, I should think, very general satisfaction. He advocated the [illegible] principles, but with such courtesy and discretion, that he gave no offence, that I know of, to those who differed from him.

The Convention being over, Mr W. left London, and I departed for the continent. On my return, I visited Scotland, and at the pleasant residence of our much respected friend, John Murray, on the banks of the Clyde, I again met Mr Wright. As he greatly needed relaxation, I persuaded him to accompany me in a short tour to the Highlands of Scotland, and we visited Loch Lomond, Inverary, Stirling, &c. &c., together. We again separated, but subsequently met each other by agreement in London, and made arrangements for a tour in Germany. My health becoming bad, I did not dare to venture on the journey, and we left for the West of England, where we spent two weeks, and afterwards visited Lancashire district and Wales together. I thus had an extended opportunity of seeing in what manner brother Wright carried on his operations. I found he was always actively engaged, wherever he might be, in railroad car, or on the top of a stage coach, in the house, and by the way, he was ever introducing his favorite topic of Peace, and with great effect, too. He never failed of exciting attention, and oftentimes made a very evidently deep impression on his hearers. He lectured in Birmingham, and several other places we visited, to large houses. Mr W. does not confine himself to one topic; but on temperance, anti-slavery and the corn laws, all interesting topics in England, he was ever ready to speak. I think his influence is good, and that it is great; that he is doing more good in England than he could do in this country. England is the best theatre on which to attack the war system; there it is omnipotent, every body sees it, every body feels it, its oppressions, its abominations are all manifest, and can be assailed most advantageously. Under these circumstances, I think the friends of H. C. W. may rest assured, that he could not be in a more advantageous sphere. He is evidently much beloved by a large circle of friends, and has been treated with great kindness by many. There are, of course, some who are afraid of him, some whose conservatism is alarmed at every bold and honest expression of sound principles, but for myself I do not think there is any cause for alarm. The most I fear is, that he will break down his fine constitution. His health is considerably impaired, and I think he is becoming more careful of himself, and may yet live to perform great and important services. God grant he may.

Yours truly, AMASA WALKER.

To the Editor of the Standard.

Friend [illegible]:

As an abolitionist, I blush whenever I have asked to express thoughts through the medium of the Liberator, which should be uttered through the Standard; but it is a fact, that neither of its editors could have the moral magnanimity, in many cases, to give fairly the complaints against them; and this is the secret of the present embarrassments of the Parent Society. Abolitionists cannot raise funds when the people lack confidence.

In the first place, I wish to complain of the editor of the Standard, for saying, in a note appended to the proceedings of the late decennial meeting, that the resolutions, protesting against the course of John Quincy Adams, were supported only by the mover; when they were prefaced by a request from between twenty and thirty of the members present, whom I know to be persons of different political sentiments. I have been assured that they might as easily have been signed by 500, but for the time it took to circulate them. The reason why no one spoke to them was, that it was known in the Convention that the house they occupied could only be had during that session. The day was far spent, and want of time, not an unwillingness to get rid of the subject, was the why it was referred to a committee. My sentiments have been with the Whig party, but I do not think Whiggism should be made a component part of abolition.

Again, in the article on 'Volunteer Preaching,' he says he performs but a duty in disclaiming for himself, and those he is charged to represent, all connexion with S. S. Foster. If he means to represent the members of the American A. S. Society, it is time he should know that many approve and will sustain S. S. Foster in the discharge of his duties.

This is mentioned only to correct the false impression the editor is under, as so few have the moral daring to say they oppose. His friends, like thy own, are his strong friends, and his enemies most bitter—and when they listen to him, they are reminded of the intrepid firmness and unfaltering devotion to the cause of its early pioneer. He is, indeed, one of the most efficient and most faithful of the anti-slavery host.

There is yet one other count in the indictment, and not least because it is last. It is found in the same editorial referred to, and is an allusion to the speech of George Bradburn, on the evening of the 8th instant, when there were demonstrations of the presence of a mobocratic spirit. Is it in keeping with the duty of our anti-slavery mouthpiece to impute the disorders of that evening to the speaker, as he does in saying of the succeeding speech of S. S. Foster, that it 'quieted, as with the wand of a magician, the popular elements of a great city, previously lashed into a storm'?

A. K.

Russellville, Pa.

☞ The proceedings of the Essex County meeting, together with the communication of Silas J. Kenny relative thereto, were received too late for insertion this week.

The communication of Thomas Earle, also, just received, shall appear next week.

☞ We notice a miserable [illegible] article in the Daily Advertiser, over the initials E. G. L. We only allude to it for the sake of saying that it is not written by our brother E. G. Loring, as some of the friends of slavery have asserted.

Massachusetts.—The Legislature of Massachusetts convened at Boston on Wednesday, Jan 3d.

The Hon. Josiah Quincy, Jr., Whig, was chosen President of the Senate, and Charles Calhoun, Clerk.

Charles W. Storey, Jr., Whig, was elected Clerk of the House, having received [illegible] votes, against 127 for Wm. B. Parmenter, Dem., and 2 scattering.

Thomas Kinnicutt was elected Speaker of the same body, by the following vote:

Thomas Kinnicutt, Whig, had	178
George S. Boutwell, Dem.	127
Samuel H. Walley,	4
Joel Hayden, Abol. Dem.	2
Henry W. Cushman,	1

The Annual Election Sermon was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Chapin, of Charlestown.

Murder.—A man was found yesterday morning in the street, murdered, beyond a doubt. His body had been pierced by some sharp instrument in several places. Two of the thrusts went through the lungs and heart.

His name is L'Homme, and his employment was the pursuit of runaway negroes, by some of whom, it is conjectured, he was killed.—*N. O. Picayune, Dec 22.*

NOTICES.

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be holden in Boston, on WEDNESDAY, the 24th of January, 1844, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing its sessions probably not less than three days. It is hoped that this will ensure the largest attendance of delegates and friends of the cause that has ever been witnessed on any similar occasion. Let the abolitionists of the Commonwealth take seasonable measures so to arrange their business affairs as to enable them to be present. A cordial invitation to come and participate in the proceedings is extended to all who desire to see the soil of America no longer stained by the foot prints of a slave.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Cor. Sec.

NOTICE.

A meeting of the Worcester County North Division Anti-Slavery Society will be held at Barre, on Wednesday, the 31st of January. It is expected to continue two days. Able speakers will be present, among the number, Dr. E. D. Hudson, of Northampton, and Charles L. Remond and Sydney H. Gay, who have taken so conspicuous a part in the Hundred Conventions of the great West, have engaged to be present, (Providence permitting.) Let all who love principle more than sect or party, and are laboring to afford a resurrection to prostrate humanity, and save our wives and children from grief and bitter tears, come up to this noble gathering of free spirits. Barre is one of the finest towns in the county, and our free spirited friends there will undoubtedly give us, for the cause sake, a hearty welcome.

JOS. S. EVERETT, *Pres.*

Bass [illegible], Sec.

Princeton, Jan 10, 1844.

WORCESTER COUNTY SOUTH DIVISION A. S. SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this Society (for choice of officers and business of importance) will be held in this town, at the East Town Hall, on Friday, January 12, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

All persons interested in the objects of the society are affectionately invited to attend the meeting.

CHARLES WHITE, *Sec'y.*

Worcester, Jan 3.

NOTICE.

All persons desirous of promoting pure and undefiled religion are invited to meet, without distinction of sect, party or station, in J. B. Savory's hall, Georgetown, next Sabbath, the 14th inst. C. L. Remond, S. H. Gay and others are expected to be present.

Georgetown, Jan 9th, 1844.

ADELPHIC UNION LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

On Tuesday evening, Jan. 16th, the following question will be discussed by Members of the Elocution Class:

'Does Justice and the good of society require the acknowledgment and exercise of the equal rights of the sexes?'

To commence at 8 o'clock, precisely.

CHAS. A. BATTISTE, *Sec.*

SCRIPTURE MANUAL.

The friends of this work are requested to forward any additional questions, (with a simple reference to the proof-texts,) or any hints of advice they may think proper to give me, by private conveyance, care of Crocker & Brewster, Boston, or M. W. Dodd, Brick Chapel, New York, or by mail to North Wrentham, Mass. in good season for the second edition, which I hope to issue in a few months.

CHARLES SIMMONS.

DIED—In Ipswich, on Saturday week, Mr. Henry Russell, aged [illegible]. On the day following, Mrs. Catherine, his wife, aged 75. They lived together in the married state 57 years, and both retained their faculties, in a remarkable degree, compared to the last. They were the parents of ten children, eight of whom were living at the time of their death.

To the Ladies.

YOUR attention is invited to one of the largest and best assortments of MUFFS and BOAS ever offered in this city, and at prices which cannot fail to suit the most economical.

☞ Any article not proving in every particular as good as recommended, I should esteem it a favor if the purchaser would call and receive satisfaction, at the OLD STAND—store and chambers—173 Washington st. WM. SHUTE.

Jan 5. 3t

Books and Stationery.

BELA MARSH

HAS taken the easterly part of the store occupied by the Anti-Slavery Office, where he will keep constantly for sale a general assortment of School, Classical and Miscellaneous BOOKS; also, Blank Books and Stationery, on liberal terms.

Dec 26.

Rev. Billy Hibbard's VEGETABLE, ANTI-BILIOUS FAMILY PILLS.

ALL who are acquainted with the maker of these Pills will do him the justice to say, that he is one of the last men to impose upon the public. The value of these Family Pills has been so often made manifest, that an extended description of their virtues is hardly needed. It is of more importance to tell the public where they are to be had; and, although they are not held up as a specific for every disorder, yet they have counteracted and cured many acute and obstinate chronic diseases; and what they have already done, it is not improbable they can do again. To use the language of the inventor: 'An early and correct use of these Pills will enable every one safely and successfully to be their own physician, in all ordinary complaints.'

They are for sale, wholesale and retail, by SAMUEL FOWLER, No. 25, High-street, Charlestown, wholesale agent. Price, 50 cents per box. Where may also be had

REV. B. HIBBARD'S CARMINATIVE SALVE.

This Salve relieves and cures Felons, Biles, Ulcers, Agues in the breast, Milk Cake, Ague in the face, Ear ache, Burns, Scalds, Corns, Salt Rheum, White Swelling, King's Evil, Stiff Neck, Whooping Cough, and Cough occasioned by cold, together with many other painful complaints—but it is its own best trumpeter, and, in such cases, self-praise goes a great ways. Price 25 cents per box. Jan. 12

UNPRECEDENTED!!

THE WEEKLY BAY STATE DEMOCRAT, a National, Miscellaneous, and Political Journal of the largest size, is offered to the public, by the publishers, at the unprecedented low price of

ONE DOLLAR PER ANNUM.

The publishers are only able to furnish this valuable paper, which is filled entirely with reading matter, at so low a rate, in consideration of the immense number they print. Those of our honest New England farmers who desire a good family paper at one-half the usual charge, have only to send us their names with the money.

Terms invariably in advance—$1 per single copy, or six copies for one year for $5.

WRIGHT & BALLOU.

Office, corner of State and Devonshire sts. Boston.

2tis

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

Dear Parson and Brother,

The [illegible] following lines were called forth by hearing a precious calm, by the man, so so quiet on the subject of slavery as any slaveholder could wish, pass censure upon us for harsh language and violent measures, and also by hearing a few days ... a lady actively engaged in the cause of Moral Reform, assert that the past [illegible] and honest M... it will find prejudices the public mind against the cause, in which she spent her energies, and which she fell a martyr.

EARTH'S PIONEERS.

The hardy settler of the wild greens,
Who [illegible] and dark forests [illegible] form,
Beholdeth not nature by meek gentleness,
But [illegible] encountering foe and a strong arm.
Then, free from vain annoyance and strife,
They, who inherit his domain, may dwell—
And, in their sweet retirement, perfect calm,
Will there, with bliss perchance, and wonder tell
Of foes that swept majestic trees away,
As the long-hidden soil was brought to light of day.

And thus with freedom's fearless pioneers—
The human mind, like the soil when untold,
Was hid beneath a dense growth of old ideas,
Excluding light, like crown with ample fold.
Had there been none with giant grasp and bold
To fight the foe, and wield the axe and plough,
Earth's mighty offspring might have remained untold
To the remotest ages. [illegible]
A censure on those deeds of good and might?
It comes from some whose, that hardly dare enjoy the light. H. W. H.

New-York, Dec. 16, 1843.

A SONG FOR THE NEW YEAR.

One sigh for the year that hath sped!
One tear o'er the bier of the Past!
And the soul shall be nerved as it turns from the Dead,
A glance o'er the Future to cast.
It is folly to cherish regret
For joys which are shrouded in gloom—

[illegible]

REFORMATORY.

☞ We copy the following Report from the Essex County Washingtonian, in order to answer specifically the enquiries of 'An Inquirer after Truth.'

[Reported for the Essex County Washingtonian.]

Mr. Garrison's Reply to Rev. Mr. Potter.

We also in one afternoon to give a sort of ... of Mr. G... [illegible]

Mr. [illegible] the ... of spirit manifested by those who worship at the Rev. Mr. Potter's church. In this meeting persons holding opposite sentiments were invited to speak, and Rev. Mr. P. had even stated, that should any one wish to speak before he had concluded his remarks, upon the [illegible] he would [illegible] and would not consider the interruption ... improper; but in regard to Mr. P. and his congregation, they had admonished us that no person would be allowed to speak during the meeting, and the terrors of the law were impliedly threatened, if any should dare the temerity to disregard their prohibition. Mr. Garrison called upon the people to consider why was this difference—why, on the one hand, opponents were invited, and on the other they are closed. Why was the course pursued by Rev. Mr. P.'s church? asked Mr. G. Does truth need it? Does right need it? Does Christianity need it? No. But falsehood—does—wrong does—Anti-christ does.

Mr. Garrison then proceeded to consider Mr. Potter's lecture as reported in the Washingtonian, and said he should show that the ground taken by that gentleman is the same as that taken by Popery. He would venture to say, that if it were made to a body of Catholics, no one among them would ... agree that it did not come from the Pope of Rome. Mr. P. does not claim that every one who holds the position of a clergyman, or a gospel minister. Neither does the Pope. But Mr. P. claims that such an order was instituted by Christ when he sent forth his Apostles. So does the Romish Church. Mr. P. contends for the perpetuity of this institution—that it is to continue as long as mankind shall exist. Herein he agrees with the Romish Church. Mr. G. referred to ...

[illegible]

SOCIAL REORGANIZATION.

Social Reform.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison:

As some service may possibly be done to the cause of social reform by the publication of the subjoined propositions, I take the liberty of handing them to you, for insertion in your paper, if, in your judgment, they ought to appear before its readers. They were, as you know, submitted to the friends of that cause, who have been assembled in Boston during the past week, together with my suggestions on the same subject, published in the Liberator of Dec. 22, and although no action was, nor could well be expected to be taken on them by the convention, seeing that we are but at the beginning of the agitation, I have confidence that they will, ere long, be cheerfully responded to, and ultimately made the basis, to some extent, of our proceedings.

I am glad to be able to state it as my conviction, that the excellent spirit which marked generally, the meetings and doings of the convention, promises a large measure of success at no very distant period, but I feel bound to reiterate, also, that vexation, disappointment and delay will follow, according as we defer the ... upon, to Being, of universal truths, and the public ... of those truths. During the discussions which will succeed those introductory ones on our social economies, the subject of man's moral constitution and relationship to the Infinite will, surely enough, and unfrequently come up. It has been brought out prominently, at the convention which has just been held, and how great its power is to distract and divide has been seen. The continued promulgation of the most comprehensive truths only can counteract and eventually suppress this distraction and division. Yet these truths must have the assertion and voice of the loving and intelligent advocates of social reform, before that can be done;—which, to obtain, is and will continue to be one aim of your obliged correspondent.

1. There is but one God, eternal and illimitable, not confined to place, not restricted in time, whose will only is done in the heavens and on the earth. This God is Love, is Spirit, the Love-spirit.

2. Evil is a self generation, not eternal, not illimitable—is confined to place, restricted in time, and ...

[illegible]

that of the whole; that he is more a part of the great universal man than a perfect individual man; that he is a social as well as a mental and physical being; that he is a part of society, and has his character formed for him by society, and not by himself; and that he can only advance towards his ultimate happy destiny in harmony with society—with the race of which he is a part.

After this, a few remarks were made by J. A. Collins, whose want of health would not allow him to occupy more of the evening. His remarks partly went to show, that the claim to exclusive individual property, even in the most limited sense, is not founded in right, but is a usurpation of right. The interest of the meeting was much enhanced by some discussion and slight variation of sentiment between J. A. Collins and our friend Charles C. Burleigh, and also between Mrs. Rose and our whole-souled brother, Frederick Douglass, of Massachusetts.

I will say nothing about our interesting anti-slavery Decade, as the secretaries have given us full an account of them. On the second day of its meetings, the community committee learned that our friends Bradburn and Foster wished to occupy the church on that evening, for lecturing on the subject of slavery. We therefore had no public meeting, but some of the zealous friends of social reform met at the house of E. James, where an interesting conversational meeting was had. We at this meeting determined upon holding a public meeting for addresses and discussion in the same church, on 5th day evening, Dec. 7th, and to go into convention on the morning of the 8th, and continue the 9th of Dec. at the hall of the Wilbur Fisk Institute. We advertised accordingly, in the city papers, and by posting bills. On 4th, or Wednesday evening, a number of Community friends met at the house of Jas. Mott, by the kind invitation of our dear friend Lucretia. These social meetings were of the finest and most interesting kind, and at them the principles of Community were pretty well developed, and the situation and character of the Skaneateles friends made known.

On 5th evening, we were disappointed in being refused by the proprietors of the church, the use of it, in consequence of some noisome demonstrations of the anti slavery meeting on the preceding evening. This refusal was not made known until the close of the A. S. meeting, leaving it out of the question to provide another place, and give notice. Indeed, C. C. Burleigh gave notice, at the close of the Decade, half past 4 o'clock, that, in the evening, at that place, at 7 o'clock, a community meeting, &c. would be held. We were then publicly informed that the house could not be had. I say this ...

[illegible]

... tinued two days and evenings, with increasing interest to the last. The common people heard gladly. There would be mutters, sometimes, frowning upon their manifested disapprobation. On account of Collins' want of health, and the difficulty of getting to Uwchland, Chester Co., we had to give up going there. This we regretted, as an appointment had been made there. We therefore returned to Wilmington, and had two more meetings there, and returned to Philadelphia on 6th day, the 15th inst.—again on fire, and had three meetings on the following Sunday, in a large lecture room [illegible] of from five to eight hundred persons. The pledges before made were here renewed, and the cash increased to five hundred dollars, and new pledges given amounting to one thousand dollars, to be paid in various ways—all within two years. Two other meetings on the evenings of the 20th and 21st were held in a large church, well filled. The expenses of all these community meetings were $65. This was collected, besides the $500 above mentioned. But my sheet is full, and not half told.

Your friend,

SAMUEL SELLERS, Jr.

ITEMS.

Benefits of Public Executions.—The Upper Marlboro' (Md.) Gazette says, that there were probably one thousand persons present in that village, on Friday last, to witness the execution of negro Daniel, and that in less than two hours after the criminal was executed, one fourth of that number were intoxicated, and behaved in a beastly and disgraceful manner. Some of the spectators were fighting, and cursing, and swearing, in the most profane manner, while the corpse was suspended on the gallows.

Reward of Duellists in Prussia.—A letter from Cologne says—Lieutenant Peters, who lately, in consequence of a dispute at a ball, fought a duel with M. Hara, a bookseller, and shot him, was sentenced by a court martial to be beheaded. The king has commuted the sentence to fifteen years imprisonment in a fortress, and Lieut. Peters has accordingly been conveyed to the fortress of Ehren Breitstein, as well as two seconds, who are condemned to ten years imprisonment. The other two persons implicated in the duel are said to be sentenced to five and two years imprisonment.

Rail Road in Vermont.—The Green Mountain Boys are all in a breeze for constructing rail roads. Col. Crocker, the go-ahead President of the Fitchburg road, has been stirring them up for some time past, and has raised the steam to the melting point, so that they are wide awake for the extension of the Fitchburg road to the 'Lake.' About a thousand delegates assembled in Convention at Brattleboro', lately, to devise measures for the prosecution of the enterprise, and spirited meetings in relation to the subject, have been, and are about to be, held in many other places along the route.

During the last earthquake at Point à Pitre, a gentleman was rescued from death by the heroic efforts of a slave. He was immediately offered a handsome reward for his humanity. 'No, no,' said the generous fellow—'Nothing for money to-day—all for the love of God.' History scarcely records a nobler sentiment. The Colonial Council voted him 2100 francs, 1600 to purchase his freedom, and 500 for an outfit in his new career.

A negro having purchased a hat, was observed to take it from his head on the fall of a shower of rain, and to manifest considerable alarm to preserve it from the wet. On being remonstrated with for his supposed stupidity in thus leaving his head exposed, he wittily observed, 'Hat belong to me—head belong to massa.'

Horrible.—The Boston Post relates a horrible case of death by starvation, which occurred in Wall-street, near Chatham Hanover-street. The reporter says that seeing a crowd near the entrance to a cellar, on Friday morning, he was told, on inquiring the cause, that in the apartment below, a woman had died of starvation.

The Fall River Committee for the reception and distribution of funds for the relief of sufferers by the fire of the 2d of July last, state that the amount of losses by the fire was about $526,000, of the contributions for the relief of the sufferers, $50,951 43 in money, and five or six thousand dollars worth of clothing, provisions, furniture, &c.

An Arbitrary Judge.—Judge Mannings at St. Louis, a few days ago, struck the names of a jury from the panel because they brought in a verdict contrary to his instructions. Where's the use of jurors, if judges act in this way?

Col. Samuel W. Davies, one of the early pioneers of the West, and for ten years Mayor of Cincinnati, died in that city on the 22d ult. aged 67 years. Col. D. was among the most useful men of the Queen city of the West.

Distressing Mortality.—Six members of Judge Finch's family, including himself, aged 79, of Finchville, Orange county, N. Y. have died of typhus fever since the 9th inst. and two daughters are now ill of the same disease.

Night before last one of the firemen of the steamboat Wing and-Wing was stabbed with a bowie knife by a man named Charles Anderson, a hand on board the Jo Nicol. The wounded man is not expected to recover.

CANADA.—*Seat of Government Question Settled.*—The answer of the Home Government on this question was received by the Hibernia, and it agrees to the joint addresses of the Canadian Legislature, transferring the Seat of Government to Montreal.

Accident.—The steamer Allegheny, from New Orleans, heavily laden for St. Louis, was lying to for the night near Helena Point, when a tree fell across her, carrying away eight of her state-rooms!

New-Jersey.—It is said in the Newark Post that Mr. Webster has purchased the Weehawken estate, lately owned by Judge Bergen, for $25,000 situated about two miles from Hoboken. If so, we presume he intends to reside in New Jersey for objects connected with his legal pursuits.

Eleven Men Killed.—A rumor is in town that a row occurred on the line of the Welland Canal, on Tuesday last, between the Orangemen and Catholics, which resulted in the death of eleven of the rioters. The militia were called out, and order restored with difficulty.

LOOK AT THIS!

THE subscriber, who has had several years experience in the mailing department of a weekly paper, as also in various kindred employments, is now out of a situation. He would prefer to secure an engagement in Boston, but would avail himself of inducements in other cities. He can produce the best of testimonials in regard to character, ability, &c. Please address

WILLIAM C. NELL, 25 Cornhill.

☞ Will the National Anti-Slavery Standard confer a favor by inserting this notice?

RESPIRATORS,

OR BREATH AND BODY WARMING INSTRUMENTS.

ENGLISH and American Respirators, the latter made under the direction of Dr. H. I. Bowditch, may be had at 17 Bedford street, at Theodore Metcalf's Apothecary shop, and at Mrs. Allen's, 283 1-2 Washington-street, 3 doors north of Bedford street, Boston.

This instrument is useful for all persons liable to be exposed to cold, seamen, teamsters, travellers, public lecturers, &c. as it prevents the animal heat from passing off from the body of the wearer so rapidly as it would otherwise. It is invaluable to all afflicted with cough during the cold months of the year.

September 29. 3m

AGENTS OF THE LIBERATOR.

CONNECTICUT.—S. S. Cowles, *Hartford*;—John S. Hall, *East Hampton*; James Munroe, *Canterbury*.

NEW-YORK.—Isaac T. Hopper, *New-York City*;—Charles S. Morton, *Albany*; James C. Fuller, *Skaneateles*; Thomas McClintock, *Waterloo*; John H. Barker, *Peru*; R. D. H. Yardley, *Kusheville*; Isaac Hartshorn, *Penn Yan*.

PENNSYLVANIA.—H. C. Howell, *Allegheny*;—J. B. Vashon, *Pittsburg*;—M. Preston, *West Grove*;—James Fulton, Jr., *McWilliamstown*;—Thomas Hambleton, *Russelville*;—B. Kent, *Andrew's Bridge*; John Cox, *Homorton*;—James M. M'Kim, *Philadelphia*; Joseph Fulton, *Swan*.

OHIO.—Charles Olcott, *Medina*;—Abner G. Kirk, *Salem*;—James Austin, *Atwater*;—Lot Holmes, *Columbiana*;—Jos. A. Dugdale, *Cortsville*;—A. Brooke, *Oakland*.

[SEE FIRST PAGE.]

FROM THE POSTMASTER GENERAL.

Remittances by Mail.—'A Postmaster may enclose money in a letter to the publisher of a newspaper, to pay the subscription of a third person, and frank the letter if written by himself.'

☞ Agents who remit money should always designate the persons to whom it is to be credited.